United Nations A/49/PV.46

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

46th Meeting
Thursday, 27 October 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy ..... (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Agenda item 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/49/1)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 11 a.m.

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list as soon as possible.

Mr. Camacho Omiste (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Bolivian delegation is pleased to initiate our consideration of the report presented by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the work of the Organization.

In the course of our debate the Ambassador of Indonesia will report on the joint views of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Bolivia is honoured to be a member. Bolivia's position will be clearly reflected in his statement, and I would like to express special thanks to Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti for this. I shall therefore confine myself to a few matters of particular importance to the Government I represent.

Among the wide range of issues and the volume of papers relating to the agenda of this session, the Secretary-General's report gives an overview of the Organization's activities and allows us to appreciate, globally, the essential links between various tasks. It is thus quite clear that these actions are not isolated and makeshift but, on the contrary, reflect the implementation of a clearly designed strategy.

The confidence placed by the international community in the Secretary-General on his election has been fully justified, and I extend to him my delegation's congratulations on that.

We are particularly pleased that the Secretary-General's report pays due importance to development issues. Preventive diplomacy and the settlement of disputes will have solid bases to the extent that mankind is in a position to implement policies to bring about effective cooperation permitting us to address collectively the full exercise of human rights and the problems of poverty and unemployment. The Agenda for Development should reflect these views, which are shared by the majority of States represented here.

Bolivia is carrying out a number of new projects on such matters as sustainable development, regional integration, liberalization of trade and investment, protection of the environment, advancement of indigenous peoples, participation of the public, the fight against drug trafficking and other equally important issues.

94-86836 (E)

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However, national endeavours have often not met with international understanding to the extent that we would have expected. Those involved in bilateral and multilateral cooperation, especially financial organizations, should take into account in their operational policies elements of national projects that have a bearing on the collective interest of nations. It is therefore paradoxical that, for example, the United Nations Development Programme has experienced a 15 per cent reduction in its basic resources and that the United Nations Children's Fund faces a huge shortfall in contributions, as is mentioned in the Secretary-General's report.

The Bolivian Government and people are seriously and firmly committed to international efforts to combat illicit drugs. In his statement in the general debate, Foreign Minister Antonio Araníbar Quiroga called for a broad understanding of the issues, which would allow for a proper appreciation of the traditional medicinal and cultural uses of the coca leaf, clearly distinguished from cocaine, the demand for which in developed countries creates countless problems.

Similarly, at the beginning of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People we will submit to the relevant Commission the report of the meeting that took place in the middle of this year in Cochabamba between Latin American Government officials and representatives of the indigenous peoples of our continent, so that the relevant plan of action will become operational and will meet the needs and demands of those intended to benefit from it.

Regarding the struggle for human rights, Bolivia congratulates the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, on his work. My country has made significant contributions through its own process of democratic consolidation. Similarly, together with other States we are contributing police personnel for monitoring and to provide training in the Republics of Mozambique and Haiti.

We should also mention in this connection that Bolivia is one of the few States today in which a former dictator, accused of grave violations of constitutional order and of human rights, has been put on trial, with all legal guarantees at every level of the process. His sentence will be served in Bolivia, thanks to proper implementation of the extradition treaty by the administrative bodies of our sister republic of Brazil and thanks to the proper functioning of the international system of judicial cooperation.

In our commitment to the principles of justice, we in Bolivia would like to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations by reiterating in deeds and not merely in words our commitment to international law. As my country's Foreign Minister has stated, we are confident that in the third millennium the law will cease to be an instrument used by the powerful to support injustices and will become the sole effective means for settling disputes and rectifying, whenever necessary, the excesses and errors of previous generations, to ensure that effective international justice prevails.

With respect to reform of the Charter and the functioning of the Organization's main organs, my Government believes that democracy must also become a clear expression of international relations. The participation of large and small States in solutions of issues that are binding on all should be fair, representative and not, as is usually the case, merely rhetorical.

In particular, we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General at the end of his report that the United Nations

> "is the repository of hope for humanity and the future. That hope deserves our deepest continuing commitment." (*A/49/1, para. 797*)

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): It is indeed an honour and privilege for me to speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries with regard to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive and insightful report. We trust that it will greatly facilitate our deliberations on improving and enhancing the functioning of the United Nations.

Among the basic purposes in founding the United Nations almost 50 years ago were those of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, of reaffirming faith in human rights and the dignity of mankind, of establishing an environment for respect of international law, and of promoting social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom for all. Thus, in his third annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization, contained in document A/49/1, the Secretary-General has rightly focused his attention on the economic and social questions that have for so long been sidelined. These have become all the more

important today precisely because it has become increasingly recognized that conflicts have economic and social origins. We therefore firmly believe that the emerging consensus on human-centred development should go a long way towards strengthening the ability of the United Nations to realize its vision of development.

We, the non-aligned countries, can fully agree that, as the United Nations completes the first half-century of its work and stands poised to meet the challenges of the future, its primary mission will be to fulfil a renewed vision and commitment to development as the long-term solution to conflicts which endanger international peace and security and thereby be better positioned to address their root causes. It is therefore a matter of grave concern that, as indicated in the report, while the United Nations is called upon to shoulder ever-expanding responsibilities, it is at the same time being shackled by a deepening financial problem. As the report notes poignantly:

> "the unpredictability and irregularity of contributions from Member States make it extremely difficult to manage the Organization effectively." (*A/49/1, para. 103*)

If this perennial question is not quickly resolved, the consequences could be disastrous to the aspirations of the international community to peace and development. Therefore, the contributions of Members should be paid on time and in full in order to alleviate this difficulty. As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, the question of financing should be given top priority so that the United Nations can be put on a more financially secure footing.

The non-aligned countries are fully committed to making the United Nations the central instrument for a new and revitalized international order. Steps must therefore be taken to ensure its fidelity to the dynamics of democracy in its functioning — namely, the fullest participation, consultation and engagement of all its Members in the work of the Organization.

The non-aligned countries hold that balance is essential in the relationship between the General Assembly and other principal organs, including the Security Council, in conformity with their respective mandates as enshrined in the Charter. The wide-ranging and comprehensive role of the General Assembly in world affairs alluded to in the report is fully consistent with the principle of sovereign equality and the right of all States to participate in the Assembly's deliberations and decision-making on issues of global concern. The Movement is also committed to playing an active role in the ongoing consultations on improving the Assembly's working methods and the rationalization of its agenda in order to enhance its efficiency and effectiveness.

Because of under-representation, the Movement has evinced keen interest in the question of expanding Security Council membership, particularly in the light of profound changes on the international scene and also due to the universal character of the Organization. The issues of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council are of paramount importance for the non-aligned countries. Hence, the Movement deems it essential substantially to increase the proportion of members of the Security Council belonging to the Movement and other developing countries. Any predetermined selection excluding the non-aligned and other developing countries would be unacceptable to the Movement.

It is also essential to reaffirm that both the expansion and reform aspects of the Security Council, including its decision-making processes and procedures, should be examined as integral parts of a common package, taking into account the principles of sovereign equality of States, equitable geographic distribution and the need for transparency, accountability and democratization. In this context, we encourage the endeavours of the Working Group established by the Security Council, which we hope will also contribute to enhancing its working relationship with the General Assembly.

The non-aligned countries are concerned over the tendency of the Council to deal with certain issues that are inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter concerning its role, and thereby to encroach upon the prerogatives and jurisdiction of the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies. It is self-evident that questions relating to human rights fall within the competence of the General Assembly through its Third Committee. Likewise, questions of humanitarian assistance should also be dealt with by the Assembly and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In this context, we are further concerned over certain aspects of the restructuring of the Secretariat of the United Nations that strengthen the tendency to such encroachment. In our view, therefore, the restructuring of the Secretariat of the United Nations should be reviewed by the General

Assembly and completed as early as possible, in accordance with the legislative mandate of the Assembly.

The non-aligned countries recall the first-ever summit meeting of the Security Council, held in January 1992, and welcome the fact that a second summit meeting will be held in January 1995. We look forward to the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly at the Heads of State or Government level, in October 1995, to commemorate the historic occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

In view of the Organization's steadily expanding role in peace-keeping operations, the search for ways and means to ensure broader and more stable support for these activities has become imperative. While all aspects of the United Nations have faced financial constraints in recent years, none has been so severely affected as its peace-keeping missions. There can be no doubt that the current arrangements for financing these activities are inadequate and unreliable. They place the heaviest burden on the non-aligned countries that contribute troops, thus discouraging participation. Such constraints have also severely limited the capabilities of the United Nations to prevent and contain violence and resolve conflicts peacefully; they even threaten peace settlements that have been negotiated.

The non-aligned countries, therefore, consider it necessary to address the problems of reimbursing troop costs and compensating participating countries, especially the developing countries. They called for contributions to the cost of peace-keeping, in accordance with the existing special scale of assessments established by resolution 3101 (XXVIII), which duly takes into account the special responsibilities of the five permanent members of the Security Council and economic considerations. These arrangements should be institutionalized and must be in accordance with Article 17 (2) of the Charter.

The eleventh ministerial conference of non-aligned countries, held in Cairo last summer, recognized the importance of peace-keeping operations for the maintenance of international peace and security and spelled out a number of guiding principles. These principles include, *inter alia*:

First, there should be strict adherence to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular to the principles of full respect for the sovereignty and sovereign equality of all States, territorial integrity and non-intervention in internal affairs. Second, peace-keeping operations should be of a non-intrusive and non-interventionist nature. They should be mandated at the request of the Member States involved. Third, peace-keeping operations should be of an impartial nature. Fourth, there should be full transparency and appropriate consultations in the process leading to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation, particularly between the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council.Fifth, peace-keeping operations should be established with a clear mandate, time frame, clear objectives, rules of engagement, secured financing and adequate resources. Sixth, the resources for peace-keeping activities should not be allocated at the expense of resources for the development activities of the United Nations. And, seventh, equitable opportunities should be ensured to facilitate the widest possible participation of Member States, in particular the developing countries, in peace-keeping operations.

As the report rightly notes, fruitful cooperation has been established between the United Nations and various regional organizations, which have acted as partners in facilitating the peaceful resolution of conflicts. It is therefore heartening that within the framework of existing regional institutions, commensurate with their respective charters and mandates, interaction with global organizations and multilateral forums such as the United Nations has been strengthened. None the less, the resort to regionalism has not diminished the need for an effective global framework to strengthen international cooperation within the context of the Charter. It is clear that, in our interdependent world, regional efforts can only supplement, and cannot supplant, the United Nations in meeting its global responsibilities.

Consequently, what is called for is a thorough exploration of possible mechanisms and procedures that would strengthen the interaction between the United Nations and various regional organizations and arrangements in the political, security, economic, social and other fields of endeavour, consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

As to the regional approach to disarmament, the Movement is gratified to note that the goal of a denuclearized Africa is within reach. The success of the Latin American countries towards the full implementation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco will render the region nuclear free. Taken together, they will become integral parts of a nuclear-free world, which will make a significant contribution to non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament. In general, the non-aligned countries

believe that global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should be pursued simultaneously.

With regard to other disarmament issues identified in the report, it is pertinent to note that, despite the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 48/70 on a comprehensive test ban, negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament have encountered formidable difficulties. The real cause of the stalemate is adherence to untenable approaches to disarmament in the post-cold-war era. Obviously, if the expectations of the international community are to be fulfilled, the Conference on Disarmament will have to intensify its efforts, with a serious political commitment by all the nuclear-weapon States, in the concerted endeavours towards the agreed goal of a comprehensive test ban.

A treaty in this regard will be an effective instrument towards the non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear weapons. While recognizing its pivotal role in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, attention should also be focused on those areas where serious concerns have continued to be expressed. Questions have constantly been raised as to the commitment by the nuclear Powers to the fulfilment of their obligations. Many other issues, including, *inter alia*, unhindered access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and security assurances to non-nuclear States have remained unresolved. It is up to the 1995 review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to determine the longevity of that Treaty.

As is now increasingly recognized, durable peace and stability cannot be achieved in the absence of sustained economic growth and development. Yet, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, while there has been some progress towards peace and conflict management, there has been little concerted action towards development. The non-aligned countries therefore welcome the renewed emphasis accorded to development in the Secretary-General's report. It stresses the need to promote development in its multiple dimensions. In this regard, we would like to emphasize that sustained economic growth is central to development, bearing in mind the priorities of the developing countries.

In the context of bringing development to the forefront of the international agenda, we also welcome the focus of the Secretary-General's work on "An Agenda for Development" in order to maximize the capacity of the United Nations to facilitate and promote efforts to attain sustained economic growth and development. The Non-Aligned Movement sees the elaboration and adoption of the Agenda as an essential means for correcting the perennial imbalances and inequities in the world economy, which have persistently hampered the development efforts of the developing countries. To this end, "An Agenda for Development" should first of all specifically identify its fundamental objectives, which, the non-aligned countries believe, promote sustained economic growth and sustainable development, including the eradication of poverty, and seek the equitable functioning of the world economy. It should also strengthen the role of the United Nations in promoting economic growth and development.

The non-aligned countries, furthermore, strongly believe that the Agenda should, as was called for at the World Hearings on Development and the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council earlier this year, be action-oriented and should present an overall integrated and comprehensive policy framework for advocating effective ways and means of promoting and strengthening cooperation for development. We also believe that the Agenda should avoid advancing new concepts which do not command general acceptability.

Equally important is that the Agenda should advance the equitable functioning of the world economy. To facilitate this, the Agenda should concentrate on the concrete aspects of interdependence that are considered mutually beneficial and which should help to secure a constructive dialogue and genuine partnership among all countries and other actors in the promotion of development cooperation between the developed and developing countries. This should be pursued in accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/165 on the renewal of the dialogue on strengthening economic cooperation for development through partnership. Moreover, the report of the Secretary-General on ways and means of advancing such a dialogue and partnership should further facilitate our endeavours to establish a sound and action-oriented Agenda for Development.

The deliberations on the forthcoming report on the agenda, like those at the recent Cairo Conference on Population and Development, will constitute a clear test of the commitment to a constructive dialogue based on mutual interests and benefits, genuine interdependence, shared responsibility and partnership, as set out in resolution 48/165. As a complement to the North-South dialogue, there is a dire need to intensify South-South cooperation for the promotion of development. In this

regard, we regret to note that such activities were not highlighted in the report of the Secretary-General.

We are also rather disappointed that the issue of external indebtedness, which remains at crisis levels for many developing countries, has not merited comment in the report. The non-aligned countries continue to attach great importance to this debilitating constraint on their development. While aggregate debt indicators have indeed improved, there is still something basically lacking or missing in the present approaches. Therefore, there is a need for an innovative approach that would include, *inter alia*, a once-and-for-all arrangement for settling outstanding debt and the application of debt reduction to all categories of debt, including multilateral debt, so as to provide countries with a renewed chance to generate economic growth and to advance their development.

As to the question of improving the United Nations machinery for development, we agree that system-wide field-level cooperation and coordination are of major importance. At the same time, as pointed out in the report, no matter how good the coherence and coordination of the operational activities may become, the Organization cannot fulfil its mandate without adequate and stable resources. Thus, the non-aligned countries find it paradoxical that, while the international community is attaching greater importance than ever before to the close linkages between peace and development, the resources for the development activities of the United Nations system have actually been declining. At the same time, we note that the resources for peace-keeping operations continue to increase. Therefore, we consider it important to mobilize new and additional resources for development from all available funding sources and mechanisms, and we call on the international community to honour its commitments with respect to increasing financial support for development activities.

The various activities undertaken by the High Commissioner for Human Rights are adequately reflected in the Secretary-General's report. The non-aligned countries participated in shaping the mandate of the Office of the High Commissioner and, I am pleased to note, are generally satisfied with the manner in which that mandate has been exercised during the first year of operation. The dialogue in which the High Commissioner has engaged various Governments is consistent with the position of the Non-Aligned Movement that cooperation, and not confrontation, should guide our actions in this field.

The Secretary-General calls for strengthening the United Nations capacity for preventive action to avoid human-rights violations. In that context, however, the non-aligned countries would like to recall that the World Conference on Human Rights considered that the existence of widespread and extreme poverty inhibited the full and effective enjoyment of human rights and that its immediate alleviation and eventual elimination must remain a high priority for the international community. If preventive action were to be taken to redress poverty and underdevelopment, it would, we believe, lay a solid foundation for securing respect of the broader spectrum of human rights. Furthermore, the non-aligned countries wish to note that what is required, first and foremost, is to make optimal use of existing human rights bodies by reviewing their procedures with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlap of activities.

Finally, much of the credit for sustaining the efforts towards finding peaceful and just solutions to the various conflict situations around the globe, as well as for imbuing economic development with renewed focus and importance, should go to the United Nations, the Secretary-General and his staff. As a result of their work, we are now witnessing a renewal of faith in the role of the United Nations as the unique multilateral framework for peace and development as well as for harmonizing the actions of nations as provided for in the Charter. It is now for us to fully utilize the inherent potentials of our Organization in collectively advancing our shared aspirations for just peace, common security and equitable prosperity for all.

Mrs. Hassan (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, the Egyptian delegation wishes to extend appreciation to the Secretary-General on his comprehensive report on the work of the Organization (A/49/1). The report describes the activities of the United Nations in various fields over the past 12 months and details the major developments that have accompanied those activities.

In our view, the annual consideration of the Secretary-General's report, which we consider to be a healthy tradition, is not confined to reviewing the Organization's activities, evaluating its achievements and identifying its failures, but is also an occasion wherein we may consider the future direction and prospects of its work.

Today's debate is of particular importance in view of the vital role played by the United Nations in a changing world situation that, more than ever before, calls for the intensification of multilateral action to meet

the great challenges before us and to realize the hopes and expectations of Member States.

The Permanent Representative of Indonesia spoke a few minutes ago of many of the report's important points, and we associate ourselves with what he said on behalf of the non-aligned countries. I shall confine myself in this statement to certain other questions of particular importance.

In reviewing the sources of conflict in the world, the report makes clear the organic link between international peace and security on the one hand and development on the other. It identifies three foundations of peace: development first and foremost, humanitarian action and human rights. The sources of conflict in the world are no longer purely military. The roots of conflict are to be found also in the severe economic and social problems which beset the majority of the world's peoples. The reality of this epoch wherein international relations are evolving, and taking shape against the backdrop of conflicting and overlapping interests and explosive crises created by ethnic differences and fragmented nationalisms, underscores the multidimensional nature of the problems and challenges facing our world, and reflects the interrelationship between the various elements of the concept of security. Non-military threats to security, particularly poverty, famine, unemployment and natural disasters, are all fundamental causes of destabilization and threats to peace.

The Organization has been criticized recently for allegedly devoting the larger part of its efforts to peace-keeping at the expense of economic and social questions. The report, in its Introduction, admits this:

> "while we have seen some progress towards peace and conflict management, we have seen little concerted action towards development." (*A/49/1, para. 4*)

Therefore, a renewed and strengthened United Nations commitment to work in the economic and social fields, as the Secretary-General states in his report, is not only an end in itself but is also the means of attending to the sources of conflicts.

In this connection, the Secretary-General proposes a new definition of the concept of development which involves five interlinked dimensions of development, namely, peace, the economy, the environment, society and democracy. We believe that these five dimensions succinctly sum up the major challenges of our time. They are interlinked and they mutually reinforce each other. In this respect, the Secretary-General correctly states that vigorous multilateral action is required to incorporate and integrate those five dimensions and that such action calls for an integrated approach by the United Nations and political commitment on the part of its Member States.

We were gratified to see the interest in according a high priority to the "Agenda for Development" in international concerns. We look forward to participating in its consideration in the hope that an agreed and feasible framework may be developed for facing up to the challenges which confront us and meeting all our expectations. It is high time that the Organization's energy was turned to development and to give new momentum and strength to the United Nations work towards establishing more just and more equitable international relations. The clear link between peace and development cannot be overemphasized and it forms the main theme of "An Agenda for Development".

In our view, the Secretary-General's call for an integrated approach to human-rights questions, which have become one of the Organization's new priorities, is a natural extension of the recognition by the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights of the right to development. It is of great importance that our joint efforts be directed to the full implementation of this fundamental right in the interest of the peoples of the third world.

We cannot deny that the past year was marked by a great increase in the Organization's activities in the field of peace-keeping and peacemaking. The Organization's role in preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building has also grown. The increase in resorting to the United Nations and its presence in the field has been accompanied by a need to consider institutional and organizational measures that might be taken to improve the Organization's ability to conceive, plan and manage peace-keeping operations. We deem it necessary that the lessons learned from experience in the field be evaluated in all their various aspects periodically.

Another important consideration with regard to peace-keeping operations is that States that participate in such operations do so as part of their commitments under the Charter and with a view to mitigating human suffering. In so doing, those States have to bear the financial burden as troop contributors to United Nations peace-keeping operations. Great hardship is imposed on those States when the expenditures they have incurred are

not quickly and fully reimbursed. This situation must be decisively and swiftly remedied if the principal of the universality of participation in peace-keeping operations is to be maintained.

In addition, the increasing tendency to finance the support activities of peace-keeping operations from the regular United Nations budget is a procedure that needs to be reviewed rather than institutionalized, especially in view of the fact that the regular budget has been in a zero growth situation since 1992. The Egyptian delegation has often called for the financing of peace-keeping support activities from the budgets for such operations or from the peace-keeping support account. Action must be taken in this matter so that the scarce and diminishing resources of the regular budget may be devoted to financing priority activities, in particular those linked with the economic development of developing countries and the economic recovery of Africa.

My delegation shares the concern repeatedly expressed by the Secretary-General in his annual report at the worsening financial crisis of the Organization as a result of the large arrears of Member States in paying assessed contributions. The report makes clear that the failure of Member States to pay assessed contributions in full and on time places the Organization in a difficult financial situation, deprives it of a sound financial base and makes effective management extremely difficult. Continued failure will have negative consequences for the international community's expectations with regard to peace and development.

The Secretary-General has put forward a number of proposals to encourage States to meet their legal commitments fully. We share his opinion that there is a pressing need to arrive at a swift solution to this crisis.

I should now like to refer briefly to the various organs of the United Nations. The Secretariat is an international civil service body. Like any bureaucracy, it must exercise self-criticism and evaluate the manner in which it intends to face the challenges of the future. In this regard, we welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General to achieve efficiency, minimize waste, increase accountability and eliminate corruption.

We acknowledge the need to develop administrative and leadership qualities within the Secretariat and, in this connection, we welcome the initiation of a comprehensive programme of management training aimed at modernizing and increasing the efficiency of the Organization.

I should like to underscore the importance of General Assembly resolution 48/264 regarding the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly as the principal universal body with a mandate to adopt resolutions concerning the management of the Organization and the establishment of its priorities. It also stressed the importance of a balanced relationship between the General Assembly and the various organs of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, in consonance with the General Assembly's mandate under the Charter.

And here, I cannot fail to touch on a very important subject, namely, reform of the Security Council. The Council's clear lack of representative character has begun to affect its legitimacy, and it is in no one's interest to permit the gradual erosion of the Security Council's credibility.

Therefore, in this regard, my delegation believes that in order to achieve the democratization of the Security Council in the context of the overall reform of the United Nations aimed at greater democracy and transparency in all the organs of the Organization, the serious and active work of the Working Group on the increase in the Council's membership and the reform of its rules of procedure, particularly its decision-making methods, must continue. We hope that a decision in this regard will be reached before the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization.

Mr. Melamed (Israel): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to preside over the General Assembly. I am confident that your vast diplomatic experience will be invaluable in guiding the Assembly.

I also wish to extend my congratulations to the former President, Mr. Samuel Insanally, and to compliment him on his skilful direction of the Assembly's affairs.

I would like to express Israel's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization. We were pleased to note the emphasis given to coordinating a comprehensive strategy to respond to today's challenges. Such an integrated approach is rendered necessary by the existing interrelationship between peace, security and development.

The resurgence of ethnic, religious, tribal and national conflicts has caused enormous carnage and untold human suffering. We would like to see more attention and resources devoted to early identification of the warning signs of trouble in order to prevent smouldering conflicts from igniting into full-blown confrontations. It is our belief that in the long run such a course of action would prove more effective and efficient than emergency operations conducted after the outbreak of hostilities. Consequently, Israel fully supports the Secretary-General's statement that

> "The United Nations must renew and strengthen its commitment to work in the economic and social fields as an end in itself and as the means of attending to the sources of conflicts." *(A/49/1, para. 4)*

Inasmuch as the major threats to peace and security are not limited by geographic or political borders, we believe that particular importance should be placed on regional and interregional cooperation in economic planning and development. In the broader view, this will include the need to give special attention to closing the existing gap between developed and developing countries. The United Nations can promote coordinated activity to achieve political stability and democracy, to encourage investment in human resources and to identify capital resources for development.

Mr. Vilchez Asher (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Improved economic and social conditions are the keys to peace and stability. Indeed, this understanding is one of the principles underlying the current peace process in the Middle East. Only through economic growth and social development will lasting peace prevail.

We were pleased to see that the Secretary-General's report took note of the important developments which are creating a new reality in the Middle East. We hope to see this recognition of the dramatic changes in the region also reflected in the upcoming work of the General Assembly.

The United Nations and its agencies and bodies can make a substantial contribution in the economic and social spheres. Israel believes that there is an important role for United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in providing economic and social support in Gaza and the West Bank. We urge the United Nations to allocate more funds towards this end. We hope that the appointment of the United Nations Special Coordinator will help facilitate the attainment of this goal.

I wish also to refer to the work of the Organization regarding the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. The Government of Israel is following up on the deliberations of the Open-ended Working Group and is considering the different alternatives with a view to finding the right balance between efficiency in dealing with the new and expanding tasks of the Security Council and representation which would better reflect world realities and the present membership of the Organization.

Israel believes that any attempt by the United Nations to address the question of equitable representation on the Security Council must take into account the unacceptable situation in which States are reduced to the status of "permanent non-members", never eligible to serve on the Security Council, or on most other United Nations bodies, for that matter. Because all Member States share the fate of the world, all of them must also be guaranteed the equal right to participate in the electoral process and the decision-making of the United Nations.

Israel has been refused membership in a geographic group at the United Nations and is thus barred from membership in the Security Council, as well as in all other United Nations bodies in which elections are based on regional quotas of representation. Israel is thus prevented from exercising its full rights and from assuming its full duties and responsibilities as a State Member of the United Nations. This represents a grave breach of the principle of universality and of the principle of the equality of rights of all United Nations Member States. It also constitutes a blot on the moral authority and prestige of the United Nations.

In our view, the time has come to put an end to this situation. In this way, the just principles enshrined in the Charter will be respected, and all States will be able to fully assume their rights and duties as Members of the United Nations.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* I should like to associate my delegation with those others that have thanked the Secretary-General for his report and have congratulated him on its comprehensive and thoughtful coverage of the work of the Organization. The United Nations continues to face

unprecedented global challenges, and the Secretary-General is to be complimented for the initiatives he has taken to help the Organization address those challenges more effectively.

My delegation is particularly pleased that the Secretary-General is attempting to implement a comprehensive, coordinated strategy for the United Nations. Lip service has long been paid to the view that the various organs of the United Nations complement and assist one another, but that view has rarely been actively pursued. Not only does the Secretary-General entitle the first substantive chapter of his report "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", but a close reading of the entire report makes it clear that mutual support — not only within the Secretariat but throughout the system — is his objective. My delegation applauds this approach and will assist in putting it into effect whenever and wherever possible.

I have characterized the report as comprehensive, and it is. But this desire to cover all the facets of United Nations activities may have militated against a more rigorous setting of priorities for the Organization. An emphasis on coordination must have as its inevitable corollary a requirement for rationalization, the elimination of duplication and a commitment to ongoing reform. Progress made in the revitalization of the Organization is indeed reflected in various parts of the report, but the call to action that the Secretary-General quite rightly issues in his conclusion might usefully have been accompanied by a more detailed listing of priorities.

We welcome the increased attention to development issues that is reflected in the report, and we strongly endorse the Secretary-General's contention that conflict often has economic and social origins. That is why we look forward with anticipation to his further report on his proposed Agenda for Development and to the renewed vision that it promises.

We note that the series of world conferences held this year or scheduled for next year — the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements — will provide many of the ingredients for that vision. Canada has played, and will continue to play, an active role both in these conferences and in the further discussions on development.

In this connection, my delegation has paid close attention to the Secretary-General's description of the activities of the various organs of the United Nations involved across the spectrum of development activity. We have noted in particular the emphasis on the provision of emergency relief and the effect of increased demands in this area on the operations and resources of United Nations agencies. The Secretary-General quite rightly calls for more dynamic approaches to ensure that there is a seamless and mutually supporting transition from emergency relief to sustainable development.

(spoke in English)

Another priority area for my delegation is human rights, and we are pleased with the attention that this issue receives in the report. Canada fully shares the Secretary-General's belief that the institutional capacity of the United Nations to take preventive action to reduce human rights violations must be strengthened. In this connection, we encourage the Centre for Human Rights and the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations to continue their discussions. These are the kinds of institution-wide, mutually supportive actions which the Secretary-General is attempting to foster and to which I referred approvingly a few moments ago.

My delegation has also taken note of the Secretary-General's reference to the need to bridge the gap between available resources and the mandated work of the Centre for Human Rights.

In its treatment of the management and budgetary challenges facing the United Nations, the report goes some way towards addressing the need for priorities, rationalization and streamlining to which I referred earlier. We applaud the planned reorganization of the Department of Administration and Management and the anticipated recommendation to eliminate the Trusteeship Council.

Although it is not reflected in the report, we also welcome the Secretary-General's forthright statement of 12 October to the General Assembly, in which he addressed the issue of reforming the scale of assessments. The continuing parlous state of the finances of the United Nations is clearly an issue that we must tackle seriously, and we believe that an open-ended working group of the Assembly should be set up to address it without delay.

At the same time, my delegation would have liked to see more attention paid in the report to how questions

of duplication, wasted resources and inefficiency will be handled. Member States carry an important responsibility in this connection, and it would have been useful if the Secretary-General had indicated how we could assist in this effort. In his statement to the General Assembly during the general debate, Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs stated emphatically that the elimination of duplication of effort had to be a priority for the Organization. My delegation will continue to stress this requirement.

There is much in the chapter entitled "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" to welcome. We are pleased to see that a good start has been made in the restructuring of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, including the establishment of a stand-by arrangements management unit, expansion of the resources made available to the training unit, and the establishment of the Situation Centre.

The stand-by arrangements project is proving to be particularly useful for both the United Nations and Member States in providing a base from which to assess troop requirements. There is, however, much work that remains to be done, and we look forward to the continuation of this valuable conceptual and practical exercise. In this connection, I should like also to draw attention to a study that Canada will conduct. Announced by our Foreign Minister in the General Assembly's general debate, this will be a study of options for strengthening the rapid-response capability of the United Nations.

Finally, my delegation is pleased that the Secretary-General has paid attention to the important role of preventive diplomacy. He rightly points to the need for timely information on developing crises and to the requirement for various parts of the Secretariat to work together in this effort. While we welcome the first steps that have been taken in this direction — for instance, the systematic-needs analysis carried out by the Department of Political Affairs — we believe that more can and should be done in the area of information gathering and analysis.

In sum, the Secretary-General has given us a useful description of the activities of the Organization and the challenges that it faces — in particular, the need to adapt our approaches to development so as to manage better the situation we face. My delegation is committed to working with the Secretary-General and other Member States in the continuing process of the renewal of the United Nations that he has launched.

Mr. Razali (Malaysia): I should like to join those representatives who have already expressed appreciation to the Secretary-General for the document entitled "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization" (A/49/1). In compliance with Article 98 of the Charter, the report provides an overview, as well as covering the spectrum of activities undertaken by the United Nations during 1993.

This year's report includes five chapters: "Introduction", "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", "The foundations of peace: development, humanitarian action and human rights", "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" and "Conclusion: a continuing commitment". Except in the case of chapter III, which in last year's report was entitled "Developing the global community", the chapter titles have remained virtually the same. The continuity in the thematic thrust is also evident.

In chapter I, "Introduction", the Secretary-General states:

> "... I submit the present annual report as a document for reflection at this critical time in the history of the world Organization. The structure of the report has been designed to enable the entities comprising the Organization and the Governments and peoples it serves to assess intellectually, morally and institutionally the role of the United Nations in the world-wide collaborative effort towards enduring human progress." *(A/49/1, para. 13)*

My delegation takes the Secretary-General at his word and wishes to share its views on the important issues raised in this report.

Overall, the report is rich with "the immensity of detail" (para. 788) of the activities of the Organization. At the same time, the report is not necessarily a complete critique of the successes and failures of this Organization. Such a critique would have contributed towards a qualitative assessment of the effectiveness of this unique intergovernmental body.

Chapter I, entitled "Introduction" — particularly in paragraphs 1 to 7 — succinctly captures the fundamental challenges facing the international community: the promotion of peace, justice, human rights and development — all original aims reflected in the Charter.

As for chapter II, entitled "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", the work of the principal organs, including the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat, has been highlighted.

This chapter recalls efforts made by the Secretariat to improve its delivery of administrative and support services to the Organization. While these noteworthy efforts should be welcomed and supported, we wonder how the Secretariat can function effectively in the context of a seemingly endless restructuring exercise. For instance, with the changes introduced in the coordination of the Secretariat structure concerned with issues of development, this structure remains in a constant state of flux. These problems need to be addressed in a transparent manner.

It is timely also at this juncture to acknowledge that the Secretariat possesses, along with a few "passengers", a number of dedicated and highly qualified personnel, with creative and pragmatic ideas. Yet these productive resources do not seem to have been fully exploited — stress being laid on management weaknesses. In this regard, the views and input of the Member States could be sought in addressing these weaknesses.

In the same chapter, reference has been made to ensuring an "adequate financial base". My delegation fully supports the observation in the report that

> "... the continued failure of some Member States to fulfil their legal obligation to pay assessed contributions in full and on time places the Organization in a difficult financial situation." *(A/49/1, para. 101)*

Malaysia has consistently paid its assessed contributions on time, be it for the regular budget or for the peace-keeping budget. As of September 1994, Malaysia was one of 13 countries that had paid in full the assessed contributions for both regular and peace-keeping budgets. Payment on time and in full is critical in enabling the United Nations to function effectively and efficiently.

While we recognize the economic difficulties faced by some Member States in trying to reduce their arrears, we cannot condone the failure of those who do not pay because they use payment as a conditionality in making demands on the United Nations. In accordance with the Principle enunciated in Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter, all Members are required to pay their assessment in full and on time.

Chapter III, focusing on "The foundations of peace: development, humanitarian action and human rights", covers the gamut of socio-economic issues, which form the staple of the work of the Second and Third Committees. The absence of consensus on the interlinkages between the issues addressed in this chapter must be recognized.

As for humanitarian action, the United Nations has played a sterling role, notwithstanding constraints of resources. In this regard, the important role of the non-governmental organizations must be acknowledged as well. Finally, we do agree with the observation made in the report concerning the need

> "to ensure that the transition from emergency relief to sustainable development occurs in a seamless and mutually supporting fashion." *(A/49/1, para. 316)*

In chapter IV, entitled "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" the focus is on the conceptual underpinning and the details of the various types of peace-keeping operations. Indeed, this is the longest chapter in the report, indicating the importance attached to these issues. The much-publicized United Nations involvement in peace-keeping remains at a critical crossroads. Faced with a resource crunch and the mixed results of a number of these operations, there is an ongoing debate over the future of the United Nations and its role in peace-keeping.

Despite the fact that it is a small developing country, Malaysia remains actively involved in the United Nations peacekeeping activities; we are participating in 7 of the 16 operations, with more than 2,800 men, making us the seventh largest troop-contributing country.

Admittedly, United Nations peace-keeping operations have consumed substantial financial and other resources. We recognize that, in certain situations, the collective involvement of the international community represented by the United Nations is necessary. At the same time, we cannot ignore peace-keeping operations whose mandates are questionable and which undermine the principles of sovereignty.

My Government has also been unequivocal in its demand for consultation between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council. The current practice, which merely involves ad hoc meetings chaired by a member of the Secretariat, is inadequate. Article 44 of

the Charter, in fact, states that the Member should be invited:

> "...if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces."

In chapter V, entitled "Conclusion: a continuing commitment", the Secretary-General deduces:

> "From the immensity of detail in these pages has emerged a clear direction for our future work." *(A/49/1, para. 788)*

My delegation is not convinced of this conclusion.

While we acknowledge the increasing expectations of the international community *vis-à-vis* the United Nations, there is a clear need to build a consensus on the future role and direction of the United Nations. The demands have increased, but without adequate resources.

At the same time, we note the seeming contradictions between paragraph 788 and 793 of the report. The former refers to "the peoples of the world", while the latter makes the observation "that full and responsible participation in the United Nations is not a top priority on the agendas of most Member States". If the intention in these paragraphs is to draw a distinction between the concept of peoples of the world and the principles of Member States, my delegation, while respecting the purpose of the Secretary-General behind this, does not believe that this would be a productive exercise at this stage of inter-State relations.

The primary and priority task ahead is to ensure that the principles of the Charter shall be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be the latter, trust would wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and the unique quality of this Organization. The effectiveness of the United Nations in preventing and settling conflicts and preserving international peace is dependent on the credibility of its decisions and the degree of its consistency in the application of the principles of the Charter.

In the spirit of the Charter and in the interests of Member States, there has to be a harmonization in the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of peace and security. We must not have a position where the views of the general membership of the United Nations are ignored and where the Council chooses to apply principles only when it suits the interests and convenience of certain prominent Members.

It is equally important that certain principal organs of the United Nations should not be perceived to be pre-eminent at the expense of other Charter bodies. There have also been cases in which certain Secretariat structures have been subsumed, which we in the South regret. After all, the success of any organization lies in its ability to work in concert with the sum total of its parts.

Mr. Mabilangan (Philippines): My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's comprehensive and substantive report on the work of the Organization, which testifies to a large extent to the effect of the dramatic global changes on the priorities and activities of the United Nations.

Although we note that a good portion of the report is devoted to United Nations activities in the field of preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution, we are encouraged by the Secretary-General's assurance that he has

> "sought to correct the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping." *(A/49/1, para. 1)*

This clearly supports the notion that the United Nations has a pivotal role in promoting not only peace and security but also development. The Secretary-General further states that

> "while we have seen some progress towards peace and conflict management, we have seen little concerted action towards development" *(A/49/1, para. 4)*

and that

> "it is the task of the world community to...bring to fulfilment the idea of development as the long-term solution to the root causes of conflict." *(A/49/1, para. 4)*

We therefore hope the forty-ninth session will be guided by these thoughts of the Secretary-General. Development is a global issue of critical dimensions and significant implications. The United Nations should strive to prevent attempts to marginalize developing countries

or to deviate their priorities from the pursuit of economic growth and development and the enhancement of the welfare and prosperity of their people.

The Secretary-General reports on the increased responsibilities for most organs of the United Nations. We believe these responsibilities should be consistent with the United Nations role as a universal organization built upon an intergovernmental framework and democratic principles. It is also necessary to ensure an appropriate balance of United Nations activities, particularly by its principal organs, in the fields of development, peace and security — a balance which reflects both the interests and concerns of the general membership, and is consistent with the functions and responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations as mandated by the United Nations Charter.

Paragraph 20 of the report refers to the General Assembly's adoption of a set of guidelines on the rationalization of its agenda, as set forth in resolution 48/264, which is no doubt a significant step towards a more effective consideration of issues. However, rationalization is only one and not necessarily the most important aspect of resolution 48/264. In this connection, the resolution, among others, not only reaffirms the functions and powers given to the General Assembly by the Charter but also provides the mandate for the Assembly to create new machinery when necessary to consider any question within the scope of the provisions of the Charter.

We therefore hope that the forty-ninth session will lead to the operationalization of the key provisions of resolution 48/264, and thus bring us closer to a revitalized General Assembly characterized by its increased interaction with the other principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The Secretary-General also accurately states that the vastly enhanced activities of the Security Council have generated "justifiable interest in its work" *(A/49/1, para. 30)* and, I might add, interest in most aspects of its work. This has been clearly reflected in the active participation of Member States in the Open-ended Working Group on the question of the increase in the membership of the Council. The views of my delegation on this issue have been expressed on previous occasions and I will not dwell on them now, other than to stress that it is necessary that future negotiations on all issues be conducted with complete transparency in whatever negotiating mechanism or format is agreed upon by the Open-ended Working Group. Since issues involved are very important, each Member State should have the opportunity to participate fully in the decision-making process.

My delegation appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General in improving the Secretariat's delivery of administrative and support services to the Organization. We are encouraged by his efforts to streamline the structure as well as by his assurances that the question of equitable representation of developed and developing countries at all levels, especially at senior levels, is continually borne in mind in the selection of staff.

Nevertheless, given the importance of these efforts, particularly in terms of their impact on existing programmes and resources, and on the interests of Member States, we believe that the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly should examine all relevant aspects of the current restructuring of the Secretariat.

Ensuring an adequate financial base for the United Nations and the United Nations financial difficulties are important issues which must be addressed. In this regard, I believe that the issues raised by the Secretary-General in his report deserve detailed and expert examination by Member States. My delegation hopes to participate actively in their examination.

On the issue of development, to which I alluded earlier, my delegation shares the Secretary-General's concern for the need to strengthen links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development, given the interrelationship of these activities in certain cases. However, we would be concerned if such links were to be used as a basis for eventually reorienting the development process as we understand it, particularly with regard to the nature and aims of multilateral cooperation for development as well as the role and priorities of the United Nations in promoting such cooperation. These have been amply spelled out in the various development commitments already adopted, which provide the overall framework for international cooperation for development.

It would be more important for this session to focus on time-bound action-oriented measures, possibly in the context of an agenda for development, to ensure the effective implementation of development commitments. This would invigorate the prospects for sustained growth and development, thereby leading to greater international peace and security. An agenda should also strengthen the

role of the United Nations in international cooperation for development.

We note the Secretary-General's observations in Part IV, that his report on "An Agenda for Peace" has led to a number of activities and reforms within the United Nations system. However, we had also been looking forward to his summary of developments on the implementation of certain aspects of General Assembly resolution 47/120 B on "An Agenda for Peace", the General Assembly's response to that report. We would have appreciated an exposition of his thoughts and views on this resolution, especially those related to peace-keeping operations.

The Philippines recognizes the collective nature and the important contribution of United Nations peace-keeping operations to the maintenance of international peace and security. However, they should not be a substitute for the pacific settlement of disputes through political means. In this regard we have advocated for some time the need for agreed guiding principles for United Nations peace-keeping operations, particularly for interventions in intra-State conflicts. This would preclude the danger of selective intervention based on national rather than collective interests, as well as the lack of consistency in actions taken. An agreed set of principles for peace-keeping operations would help to ensure consistency in their application and use, and eliminate the perception of a possible double standard in the making of Security Council decisions on peace-keeping operations. In other words, these principles would provide an agreed conceptual and political framework for the establishment and conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations, firmly grounded on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Finally, paragraphs 424 and 426 of the report refer to the need for sustained political resolve and public support for United Nations peace-keeping operations. We agree with the Secretary-General on this need. However, what must be ensured is how to secure and sustain this resolve. We can think of no better way of doing so than by institutionalizing consultations between the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries, the general membership and the Secretariat. Naturally, these consultations should not prejudice the Security Council's decision-making authority on international peace and security matters.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation is very pleased to see you, Sir, the representative of the fraternal country of Nicaragua, presiding over this segment of our work.

(spoke in English)

My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his report on the work of the Organization.

The annual consideration by the General Assembly of this important document, submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Article 98 of the Charter, provides a unique opportunity for Member States to have a comprehensive overview of the activities undertaken by the United Nations, as well as to engage in an informed discussion on the overall direction and pace of the Organization.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for presenting once again this year quite an extensive and detailed report. It reflects the variety and complexity of the tasks undertaken by the various departments of the Secretariat and by other component parts of the United Nations system in carrying out the purposes of the Organization.

We are particularly pleased to note that the Secretary-General has endeavoured to present a balanced vision of the overall role of the Organization, seeking to correct

> "... the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping". *(A/49/1, para. 1)*

My delegation has always held that conflicts have, more frequently than not, economic and social root causes, and therefore that the main foundations of international peace and security lie in the active promotion of disarmament, development and democratization of relations within and among nations.

It was precisely due to these considerations that, in studying the important document "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) — which highlighted the importance of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building — my delegation deemed it equally relevant to underscore the importance of preventive peace-building. Thus, at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Brazil pointed out that "An Agenda for Peace" could not overlook the equally

important "An Agenda for Development" (A/48/935) and that it was incumbent upon us to endow the United Nations with the necessary instruments and the prospective vision to make this universal forum the core of collective efforts for the improvement of relations among peoples and nations.

Consistent with these considerations, Brazil participated actively in the deliberations that led to the adoption of resolution 47/181, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive document outlining an agenda for development. We were also deeply engaged in the World Hearings on Development, promoted by the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session last June, and as an input to the deliberations on the matter we presented a paper entitled "A Brazilian approach to an agenda for development: a contribution to the current debate at the United Nations.

At the current session of the General Assembly, Brazil once again has underscored the need for striking a balance between "An Agenda for Peace" and "An Agenda for Development", and stressed the importance of attributing to international efforts in the field of development the same priority given to current activities of peace-keeping. In this regard, the Brazilian Government is proposing the convening of a United Nations conference on development to be held, possibly in 1996, with the purpose of establishing a new development paradigm and setting up a conceptual framework for major international initiatives in the field of development.

It is my Government's considered view that the series of global conferences that started with the Rio Conference of 1992, and encompassing other crucial conferences in Barbados, Yokohama, Cairo, Copenhagen, Beijing and Istanbul, will be shaping a new and comprehensive vision of development as it emerges from the discussions on "An Agenda for Development", whose articulation and concerted implementation should ultimately be consolidated at the proposed United Nations conference on development.

We believe that due to its universal composition, democratic decision-making procedures and public visibility, the United Nations is the most appropriate body to help forge the necessary global consensus in this field. In this regard, important progress could be made at the current session and a crucial momentum could be gained in 1995, since the fiftieth anniversary year represents, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report,

> "an invaluable opportunity to forge a global consensus behind development, in all of its dimensions, as the most lasting foundation for international peace and security and as the greatest hope for all humanity." *(para. 12)*

Needless to say, my delegation stands ready to work actively with other delegations on this important question.

Turning to peace-keeping operations, my delegation is appreciative of the very useful information contained in the Secretary-General's report on the many operations currently under way. We once again pay tribute to all the selflessly dedicated and courageous personnel participating in these operations, many of them under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

The increasing complexity of these operations, as observed by the Secretary General, has imposed many new burdens and difficulties in their organization and implementation. Indeed, there is a noticeable fatigue on the part of Member States to commit new troops and equipment under uncertain conditions and situations. The Secretariat also finds itself overworked and understaffed. The Security Council, in turn, is becoming more reticent at launching new missions and has outlined in its presidential statement, contained in document S/PRST/1994/22, a set of guidelines to be considered in such future operations. And the cost of financing existing operations has been multiplied by five in five years, reaching a magnitude four times larger than the resources committed to operational activities for development. Hence, perhaps, the source of the so-called misperception that the Organization was dedicated primarily to peace-keeping to the detriment of other urgent activities such as development.

As stated on other occasions, my delegation believes that the time has come for a comprehensive rethinking of the principles and practices observed by the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping.

In view of the complexity and dangers involved in some of the new types of operations, troop-contributing countries increasingly request to be kept thoroughly abreast of the developments in the field and to be consulted by the Security Council during its decision-making process. This is understandable and justifiable, since the great majority of Member States contributing to these operations are not represented in the Council. While we welcome the more frequent consultations with troop-contributing countries by the Secretariat, with a

view to keeping the former fully apprised of developments having implications for their personnel, additional measures are needed to increase the transparency and accountability in the decision-making process concerning peace-keeping operations.

Moreover, the mandates for many of the new operations seem quite wide-ranging, involving not only peace-keeping activities but also humanitarian assistance, electoral monitoring, mine-clearing, rebuilding of institutions, and so forth. In view of the obvious complexity of the task of coordinating and integrating all these functions, such mandates should be carefully considered by all parties concerned, including those that will be in charge of carrying them out in the field. This is a crucial area where in-depth consultations between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries are clearly required.

My delegation shares the Secretary-General's concern regarding the seriousness of the Organization's financial situation. Brazil is fully committed to the efforts to provide a sound, equitable, transparent and stable financial base for the Organization and stands ready to cooperate in the deliberations of the Fifth Committee with a view to finding a solution that is satisfactory to all concerned.

We note that in his conclusion the Secretary-General emphasizes that the continuing commitment of all States to the United Nations must rest on a conviction that the Organization is capable of comprehensively addressing global issues of peace, sustainable development and social justice. Furthermore, he observes that such a commitment can be achieved through the process of democratization within States, among States and throughout the international system.

The delegation of Brazil considers these observations particularly fitting to the current state of the Organization, as they seem to recall the intimate correlation between democracy and taxation through representation. It is the strong belief of my delegation that the commitment of Member States to the United Nations must derive from a generalized perception of the legitimacy of the whole Organization. Legitimacy, in turn, is predicated upon equitable representation in all relevant decision-making bodies.

We underscore, in this regard, that in its resolution 1854 (XVII), adopted in 1962, the General Assembly endorsed the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice recognizing the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States in the financing of peace-keeping operations, and that in its resolution 1874 (S-IV), adopted at its fourth special session, in 1963, the Assembly enshrined the principle of the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council in such financing. The Assembly, in its resolution 3101 (XXVIII), adopted in 1973, took these principles fully into account in establishing the current special scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations.

The great bulk of the expenses of the Organization derives from the unprecedented number of peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council. The permanent members have a special responsibility for these decisions. Brazil firmly believes that the best way to provide a sound and long-lasting solution to the financial situation of the Organization is to observe the principle of equitable taxation with equitable representation. We stand ready to cooperate in this endeavour.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): We are meeting today to evaluate the activities of the Organization during the past year and to work collectively to enable it to deal effectively with challenges in the field of security and peace-keeping and in the promotion of global integrated development.

The Secretary-General's has made a useful contribution to revitalizing the Organization to enable it to promote the triptych of peace, development and democracy. He has provided the impetus for fruitful reflection on the Organization's future and the vision of the international order that must be built: an order that will be more just and will be directed towards partnership and constructive dialogue but will not disregard the mutual interests of States.

In this context I would like to state again how much we appreciate the untiring efforts the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is making to set up the structures and instruments that can revive preventive diplomacy, good offices and mediation as key instruments for containing or helping to resolve situations of potential or actual conflict.

In his report entitled "An Agenda for Development", Mr. Boutros-Ghali states that

> "Development is a fundamental human right. Development is the most secure basis for peace". *(A/48/935, para. 3)*

We fully endorse that statement. We also have in mind the urgent requirement that the development needs of peoples and communities be met.

Indeed, most conflicts have their origins in the disastrous social and economic situation in some communities. Displacements of population and flows of refugees often result in violence followed by a breakdown of State structures and the destruction of infrastructures.

We are aware of the humanitarian imperative referred to in the Secretary-General's report, and we endorse his identification of poverty and underdevelopment as two of the critical factors contributing to the breakdown of societies and the outbreak of violence.

We are also convinced that preventive action should take pride of place in addressing difficulties and obstacles that could lead to violence. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, determined and sustained action towards development is the best course that the international community can take to ensure that the crisis in development will not continue.

From that point of view, the quest for effective structural solutions to the problem of indebtedness is a key approach to be explored as we seek to ensure the harmonious development to which our nations aspire.

Indebtedness, which some developing countries have begun to solve, remains a major source of concern for African countries. In this connection, it should be noted that deteriorating terms of trade and a fall in commodity prices are among the main impediments to the continent's development efforts. The goal of sustainable development therefore remains one of the main challenges before the international community, since we must maintain the environmental balance while protecting the right of present and future generations to economic development and social progress, without jeopardizing the foundations of a healthy environment.

To that end, and aware of the need for international and regional cooperation in this area, in conformity with Earth Summit decisions, Tunisia and its Mediterranean partners will hold in November in Tunisia a regional conference on sustainable development. That meeting, which has been dubbed "Med 21", will bring together environment Ministers of Mediterranean countries and representatives of the European Union, the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Development Programme and other international and non-governmental organizations. This conference, convened by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, is a turning point in the history of the region, giving concrete expression to the determination of the countries on both shores of the Mediterranean to ease their transition into the next century with a regenerated and promising ecosystem.

Sustained recovery and development in Africa must remain one of the Organization's priorities. As we see it, this is not a matter of preferential or discriminatory treatment that would benefit one region at the expense of another. It is not only a long-term investment in the well-being of mankind, but also a duty of the international community in order to bring this region into the mainstream of the world economy and trade and thus effectively attack the real, deep-rooted causes of local and regional conflicts. In this context, we welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General, his staff, the Economic Commission for Africa to implement the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. The reports on financial flows to Africa and the creation of a commodity diversification fund, in the context of the New Agenda, deserve our support and call for an in-depth follow-up, examination, followed by concrete, practical measures.

In his message to the General Assembly, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), stated:

> "Clearly, the efforts that Africa is currently making to solve the problems of the present and to secure the future deserve the support and assistance of the international community." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting, p. 5)*

This appeal for solidarity and for more generous support is justified by, among other things, the determination of Africa, and the work it has already done towards reform and adaptation and to integrate itself further into the world economy and relaunch the development of its productive capacities and human resources.

In this connection, I am pleased to state that, beginning today, African Ministers of Trade are holding in Tunis a conference to consider the impact of the outcome of the Uruguay Round of negotiations on the economies of their respective countries. The Tunis conference is a concrete expression of African countries' full commitment to the Uruguay Round agreements and

to be active participants in the new shape of international trade in goods and services. The endeavours of the African continent in this regard clearly call for the international community's support and for substantial mobilization of additional resources to back up the bold, decisive actions taken by African countries, despite the unpredictability and uncertainty of the world economic and financial situation.

That is why we must express our concern, in the light of the Secretary-General's report, at the disturbing trend towards reducing the resources allocated for operational activities and development in general. We are particularly concerned by the fact that the operational arm of the Organization, the Economic Commission for Africa, no longer has sufficient funds to carry through its development activities in Africa. Additional extrabudgetary resources would be helpful and highly appreciated. They are a necessary support for the implementation of these projects, which are of vital importance to African countries.

Preventive action, both diplomatic and humanitarian, is commendable and has our firm support. Whether we are addressing natural disasters, conflict situations or other difficulties, the Organization must manage its human and material resources effectively. We must express our gratitude for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General to consolidate the appropriate structures within the Secretariat and to ensure that the Organization's activities, particularly in peace-keeping operations, are more effective.

A qualitative improvement in planning and management of operations has been observed. It is clear that this effort must be pursued. But we wish to express our full understanding of the Secretary-General's concern, reiterated in his statement to the Assembly on 12 October, that the financial stability of the Organization remains a matter of concern and a major imperative for all of us. It is, in fact, a guarantee of the implementation of collective security, as provided for in the Charter.

The strengthening of the Organization's peace-keeping capacities should in no way undermine its activities in the field of enhancing socio-economic development, particularly of the poorer peoples and countries. We believe that even peace-keeping operations should be accompanied by firm economic measures. It is not enough to provide specific assistance; there must be a commitment to assist in reconstructing areas affected by the destruction and violence of conflicts. This must involve the construction of health facilities and schools, assistance in mine-clearance, agricultural rehabilitation and the building of infrastructure for the supply of drinking water and other such basic activities. The Organization has a clear responsibility to assist communities that have been thus affected. These measures to restore and subsequently consolidate peace after hostilities have ceased are the minimum level of commitment to be sought of the United Nations.

The work of regional organizations, either as a driving force or in support services, cannot replace that of the United Nations. For its part, the OAU, which has established institutional mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflicts, as well as a political framework for undertaking certain peace-keeping operations, either jointly or directly through its own efforts, intends to continue its cooperation with the United Nations so as to enhance its operational and logistic capabilities and contribute to peacemaking and peace-keeping.

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset, I should like to join previous speakers in thanking the Secretary-General for his informative and comprehensive report, which presents the many activities and achievements of the Organization that constitute the substance of our deliberations today.

The Permanent Representative of Indonesia, speaking on behalf of the non-aligned countries, has already commented on various issues mentioned in the report. My delegation fully endorses those remarks, and therefore will limit itself to certain areas of discussion.

On the eve of its fiftieth anniversary the United Nations faces unique opportunities and challenges. Recent substantial developments at the international level have given rise to re-evaluations aimed at enhancing its effectiveness. Our Organization, as the sole world structure, has both the responsibility and the potential to respond to the demands for change by moving in the right direction. In this connection, my delegation notes with satisfaction the Secretary-General's view that

> "The United Nations must renew and strengthen its commitment to work in the economic and social fields as an end in itself and as the means of attending to the sources of conflicts" *(A/49/1, para. 4)*.

Routine serious consideration of the concerns and interests of the world's majority, those living in developing countries, is the ideal for shaping a favourable

international environment. The United Nations should spare no effort to develop an effective mechanism to deal with this vital need. One essential element would be consideration of the views expressed by the majority of Member States, which could effectively ensure the comprehensiveness of that process. In this context, my delegation believes that the positions adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 must be appropriately considered by the United Nations.

As the Secretary-General has stated, contributions to United Nations development activities have dramatically decreased, making it difficult for the United Nations system to fulfil its commitments on development issues as envisaged in the Charter. However, while the Rio Conference stressed that contributions to development programmes should be increased, we have unfortunately witnessed a serious downturn in the resources available for development.

In recent years the questions of the revitalization of the United Nations system, especially of its development activities, and of coordination between its different organs have been prominently raised by all Member States. In this regard, we have witnessed some progress in the implementation of resolution 47/199 and other related resolutions, but much more should be done to enhance the efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness of United Nations operational activities, in conformity with the requirements of developing countries.

While my delegation supports the strengthening of the resident coordination system, we strongly believe that the national plans and priorities of each country constitute the only viable frame of reference for United Nations operational activities and that the authority of the resident coordinator should not go beyond that defined by General Assembly resolutions.

We attach great importance to the revised report of the Secretary-General on an Agenda for Development, which is to be issued in the next few days. We hope that this report will contain action-oriented recommendations and concrete proposals on various issues, including international trade, financial resources, debt relief, transfer of technology and a coordination system for development activities at the international level.

As indicated in the report, the complexity of the international situation and the deterioration of peace and security in many parts of the world have made it necessary for the Security Council to play an active role, evidenced in part by its frequent formal and informal meetings. In our view, the more active the Council is, the more accountable it should be to the general membership of the Organization. Needless to say, overlooking that accountability would seriously undermine the credibility of the Council. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 30 of his report, states that there is some concern at the Council's tendency to deal with issues "that are regarded as falling outside its purview". Moreover, to be more credible and democratic, the Council should be transparent, cease applying double standards and improve its decision-making process and working methods.

The Secretary-General has indicated that increased participation in the consideration in the General Assembly of the item relating to the annual report of the Security Council is evidence of Member States' interest in the work of the Council. My delegation, while concurring with this argument, emphasizes the importance of implementing resolution 48/264, on revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, and in particular operative paragraph 4, which:

> "Invites the President of the General Assembly, following consultations, to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council".

My country has always supported the need to protect and promote human rights, which should be guided by the principles of impartiality, objectivity and non-selectivity. However, we, along with other non-aligned countries, strongly reject the use of human rights as a means of political exploitation and express concern at the tendency to address some aspects of human rights selectively while neglecting economic, social and cultural rights, which relate to human needs. We are of the view that democracy, development and respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent.

In this context, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran has taken note of the activities undertaken by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report. We participated actively last year in the Working Group of the Third Committee, in which the mandate of the High Commissioner was shaped. We firmly believe that the Working Group of the Third Committee at this session should expedite its deliberations so that the objectives set out in the Vienna Declaration, as well as those principles

contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development, can be promoted and reinforced. In this regard, every effort should be made to evaluate the existing mechanisms and procedures of the United Nations human rights bodies, so as to avoid duplication in the interest of streamlining the work of those bodies.

As regards paragraph 744 of the report, on the 1995 review and extension Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we are convinced that during the Conference special attention should be given to reviewing the Treaty, in order to evaluate its achievements and find ways of remedying its shortcomings, before any discussions are held on its limited renewal.

Turning to paragraph 746 of the Secretary-General's report, on the chemical weapons Convention, we believe that no tangible progress has been achieved in the course of discussions in the Preparatory Commission for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. It is a matter of concern that certain countries are not prepared to honour their commitments under the chemical weapons Convention, in particular on the implementation of article 11 of the Convention, relating to economic and technical cooperation in the chemical sector.

In his report, the Secretary-General points to several aspects of peace-keeping operations and highlights the importance of those operations and their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation is of the view that all aspects of peace-keeping operations should strictly adhere to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principle of full respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States and non-intervention in their internal affairs. Peace-keeping operations should be distinct from other types of United Nations field operations, which are governed by their own respective mandates; equitable opportunities should be ensured to facilitate the widest possible participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations. In this respect, the United Nations should avail itself of every offer that Member States are prepared to make.

Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations deserves to be marked by a revitalized and objective tendency towards proper adjustments, as required by the new era. Many ideas have already been put forward as to how to make the Organization more capable and efficient. Next year, such views will be increasingly brought up by almost all actors on the international scene. Tremendous efforts and expertise should be deployed to facilitate the momentous task of dealing with all these ideas and views in a comprehensive manner. The Secretariat among other groups will have to shoulder an onerous responsibility in tackling this issue, particularly in preparing the required reports. As we cover all the steps of this re-examination process, significant elements that must not be neglected are: a sober analysis of the Organizations' past performance, especially in the development field, and the search for common ground to achieve global consensus. It is an undeniable fact that the primacy of political considerations over humanitarian values has sabotaged felicitous utilization of much of the potential of the Organization; the persistence of this situation constitutes the shortcoming that is most hazardous for the future work of the United Nations. As emphasized earlier by the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran in his statement before the Assembly,

> "Preparations and planning for the second half-century of the existence of the United Nations should be conducted in full cognizance of this shortcoming, and with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the Organization in carrying out those agreed tasks that are of interest and importance to the international community in its entirety". (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, p. 42*)

Mr. Cassar (Malta): This is the third report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in accordance with Article 98 of the Charter. My delegation would like to join others in congratulating the Secretary-General on having reported on the work of the Organization in such a comprehensive manner.

The Secretary-General's recommends that the United Nations should attend to the immediate problems of conflict, under all circumstances keeping in mind the aspects of development. Today, the intrinsic link between a lasting peace and efforts to promote economic, social and political development is universally acknowledged. This awareness, however, brings with it new responsibilities and obligations. As the Secretary-General points out,

> "We can build enduring foundations for a secure, just and creative era for all humanity". (*A/49/1, para. 791*)

> "The extraordinary challenges and possibilities of this moment in time require the most dedicated and far-reaching response". (*ibid., para. 795*)

My Government shares the conviction that in all its efforts the United Nations should derive its purpose not from minimum political denominators but from the principles of common humanity, the values enshrined in the Charter.

Mr. Ntakibirora (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The United Nations and the system of institutions that have evolved around it are essentially rooted in the experiences and idealism that prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. The cold-war era vastly disturbed the functioning of these institutions and, in some key areas, eroded their credibility. In today's rapidly changing world, these institutions are urgently seeking to redefine and revitalize their roles in order to enhance their relevance and effectiveness. The present discussion is an important element in that ongoing process.

The report rightfully stresses the importance of a sound financial base for the United Nations to respond to the varied demands imposed by a new world order. The commitment of Member States to ensuring adequate financial resources is of extreme importance. All United Nations Members should honour their obligations. Malta welcomes the administrative reforms that have been introduced within the Organization, aimed at eliminating unnecessary bureaucratic layers, and appreciates the full cooperation of the Secretariat staff in responding quickly and flexibly to new mandates of the Organization.

The Secretary-General proposes to improve the budgetary review and the approval process for peace-keeping operations. The granting of longer periods of financial authorization is extremely important. Member States should be in the position described by the Secretary-General, able

> "to anticipate, with a greater degree of accuracy, the financial burdens they will be expected to bear when peace-keeping mandates are extended by the Security Council". (*ibid., para. 105*)

The scope of United Nations peace-keeping has moved away from the traditional patrolling of buffer zones and supervision of cease-fires. More imaginative and, at times, even dangerous operations, such as the disarming of warring factions and the protection of the delivery of humanitarian relief, are being boldly undertaken. In just over five years, the number of military personnel involved in United Nations peace-keeping has risen from around 10,000 to more than 70,000.

The report identifies some of the difficulties encountered in this increasingly challenging venture and the efforts to address them. Of particular interest is the Secretary-General's initiative to establish stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping. At a pre-operation stage individual Members would enter into commitments with the United Nations to contribute specific resources for peace-keeping operations, within agreed response times. The sovereign right to decide on participation in the specific operation for which assistance is being sought would be retained. My Government is examining these arrangements with the attention they deserve.

During his term as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session Mr. Guido de Marco launched a proposal that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) declare itself a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, a proposal later formalized by Malta at the CSCE Council of Ministers meeting at Prague and at the Helsinki follow-up meeting. That proposal was adopted by the CSCE Heads of State and Government at the Helsinki II Summit.

My Government welcomes the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General in the past year to further the cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. This cooperation is particularly important because the scourge of war still brings untold sorrow to mankind in a number of regional conflicts.

My delegation believes that cooperation with regional organizations is also important with regard to new threats to internal and regional security, such as those posed by international drug trafficking and organized crime. The work of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme, headed by Mr. Giorgio Giacomelli, deserves our praise and merits our complete and comprehensive support.

A vision of international solidarity is essential as we strive to ensure the enjoyment of human dignity for all persons forming part of our global community. The consolidation of democracy is of primary importance in this respect, and my Government fully supports United Nations efforts in helping States that request assistance in this field.

The monitoring of elections is a key contribution to stability; elections must not only be fair, but also be seen to be fair. The erosion of democracy through the manipulation of elections is an affront to the will of the people. Nothing justifies the thwarting of the people's right to choose those who will govern them.

The interrelatedness of development and security is manifest in the dangers lurking in a world sharply divided between an affluent minority and a poor majority. If the axis of global confrontation which existed between East and West is not to shift to one between North and South, we must ensure that the iron curtain is not replaced by a poverty curtain.

The capacity of the United Nations system to address the wide range of mutually related issues is weakened by an uneven evolution of its major institutions.

The Economic and Social Council was entrusted by the Charter with responsibility for economic and social development. However, it has been unable to develop a viable relationship, not only with the Bretton Woods Institutions, but also with a number of specialized agencies with sectoral mandates in the field of development. More critically, the Council has failed to develop that relationship with the General Assembly which would have ensured the proper insertion of the development dimension into the quest for global peace and security. The immediacy with which development issues are merging into issues of security should lend urgency to the long-standing effort to restructure and revitalize the economic and social sectors of the United Nations.

The General Assembly is the only organ of the international institutional system in which all States are full and permanent members, with the widest possible mandate to consider all issues bearing on inter-State relations. The process of revitalization of the General Assembly is only in part that of making its deliberations more streamlined and efficient. Efficiency must have a purpose beyond itself. In the case of the General Assembly, the purpose is the political objective of placing the Assembly firmly at the centre of international cooperation towards peace and development.

The primary task of the Organization remains the maintenance of international peace and security. In his report the Secretary-General states:

> "In the altered context of today's world, the definition of security is no longer limited to questions of land and weapons. It now includes economic well-being, environmental sustainability and the protection of human rights." (*A/49/1, para. 4*)

These elements are key components of that broader common heritage of mankind which we acknowledge as a force of inspiration in our action.

The concept of a common heritage is today enshrined in a number of conventions. This is to our collective credit, for it proves a sense of responsibility and equity in viewing our obligations towards present and future generations. It is proof of the intergenerational solidarity for which we all strive in the creation of a truly dignified humanity.

This universal acceptance has brought about a growth in the number of United Nations bodies which endeavour to protect and promote the distinct aspects of the common heritage. These units work independently in an almost completely uncoordinated fashion. In our efforts in distinct fields we must not lose sight of the broader picture. Separate spheres of activity must work in unison if the worthy objective of a sustainable legacy for future generations is to be achieved. Institutional fragmentation poses a real threat to an effective functioning of a more equitable international order. Each cog affects the functioning of the whole. Institutional oversight is essential.

Rather than reinventing the wheel, my Government is proposing an evolution in the role of the Trusteeship Council. In first proposing this reform four years ago, my Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Guido de Marco, as President of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, suggested alternative approaches to the functions and mandate of the Trusteeship Council. Now, following the November 1993 plebiscite in which the people of Palau freely exercised their right to self-determination. the Trusteeship Agreement of the last remaining Territory under the trusteeship system came to an end. In view of this, on 25 May 1994 the Trusteeship Council adopted an amendment to its rules of procedure establishing that the Council will now meet as and where the occasion might require by its decision or its

President's decision, or at the request of a majority of its members, the General Assembly or the Security Council.

In his report, the Secretary-General recommends that the General Assembly proceed with steps to eliminate the organ in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter. My Government has taken note of this. Before proceeding with this line of action, however, we feel that alternatives should be considered. The Trusteeship Council has fallen victim to its own success. It fulfilled the mandate prescribed for it almost 50 years ago. We believe that its mandate can evolve to meet the needs of a changed international system.

The new role of the Council would be that of holding in trust for humanity its common heritage. It would provide a working forum in which different authorities responsible for the common heritage and concerns can coordinate their efforts. Such coordination is today required over a broad spectrum of interrelated issues ranging from climate change to human rights. By consolidating the manner in which the common heritage can continue to be part of international policy-making, we would be reaffirming and committing ourselves to the Secretary-General's appeal, that of employing the United Nations more efficiently, effectively and responsibly across the widest range of global concerns.

A transformed Trusteeship Council would give true expression to the Secretary-General's concluding statement in his report, namely, that

> "the United Nations is even more than an instrument of peace, justice and cooperative development among nations; it is the repository of hope for humanity and the future. That hope deserves our deepest continuing commitment." (*A/49/1, para. 797*)

The challenges facing the United Nations after its fiftieth year are daunting. A second-generation United Nations must shoulder the responsibility of ensuring peace in freedom. For too long humanity has been held hostage to the ideological divisions which denied it of a deserved participation and sharing in the common wealth. The suffering of so many millions still denied their rightful enjoyment of human dignity leaves us with no alternative but to work to make the principled resolve of our forefathers in the Charter become a tangible reality.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The United States is pleased to have this opportunity to respond to the Secretary-General's clear and comprehensive report (A/49/1). The report contains a wealth of information reflecting the range and value of United Nations work. My Government appreciates the energy that the Secretary-General has brought to his responsibilities.

As we enter the fiftieth year of the United Nations, the tides of history have granted us an unprecedented opportunity to work cooperatively towards the lofty goals for which the United Nations was formed. Today the dividends of international cooperation are evident around the globe: reduced nuclear tensions, an agreement on world trade, heroic progress towards peace in the Middle East, an inspiring transition to democracy in South Africa, the restoration of legitimate authority in Haiti, growing awareness of the need for sustainable development, and steady improvements in child immunization and health. In every region of the world we see examples of men and women pushing back the limits of past possibility and rising above historical resentments, insecurities and limitations. From Central Europe to Central America, from South-East Asia to Africa, we see the release of new and positive energies nurtured by freedom and dedicated to the future.

But as the Secretary-General's report illustrates, there are perilous cross-currents at work. In Bosnia and Rwanda, we have witnessed atrocities of a magnitude matched only rarely in this century. In too many regions the exploitation of ethnic and cultural divisions is fostering instability, strangling growth, slowing reforms and forcing innocent families from their homes.

The explosion of humanitarian emergencies has necessarily seized the immediate attention of the international community, distracting from strategies for more lasting human and social development. Our challenge is to cope with immediate needs while assembling the building blocks required for long-term progress. In this endeavour there is no sure recipe for success. No model is without flaws. A broad and continuing international discussion aimed at establishing a working consensus and partnership on these issues is required. The United States will continue to contribute its own ideas, and we will continue to listen with care to the ideas of others.

As a way of contributing to that discussion, let me today cite briefly some of the specific steps that the United States believes can be taken by the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session to advance the interlocking goals of peace, prosperity and democracy in the new world.

First, we must persist in efforts to make United Nations peace-keeping a more effective instrument of collective security. My Government is encouraged by the progress that is being made to discipline decision-making, modernize capabilities, professionalize management and improve coordination with humanitarian operations. The experience in Rwanda highlights the need for a United Nations logistics base and for arrangements that will allow a more rapid deployment of forces in support of Security Council decisions.

The Secretary-General is correct to stress the importance of Member State backing for, and participation in, United Nations peace-keeping. Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States is striving to do its part. This fall we paid $1.2 billion to meet our assessments through the end of the calendar year. We are providing technical help, information and personnel to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations on a regular basis. We have responded positively to the Secretary General's stand-by forces initiative, listing the kinds of capabilities that might be available, under appropriate circumstances, to assist United Nations operations. America's unique capacities have also been employed outside United Nations peace-keeping, but in support of United Nations-endorsed objectives in Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, Kuwait, Rwanda and Haiti.

A second area where the Assembly can make a major contribution is arms control and disarmament. We will be seeking a strong endorsement for extending indefinitely the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The longevity of the Treaty is of central importance to the success of other arms-control and non-proliferation priorities, including a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. We also look forward to the Assembly's continued support for measures to restrain trade in deadly anti-personnel land-mines. Too many civilians — especially too many children — have been killed or maimed by these indiscriminate, inexpensive tools of terror.

Thirdly, the Secretary-General mentions, in reference to his upcoming report on the Agenda for Development, a host of economic and environmental issues with which the United Nations system and its Member States must effectively deal. The times have made possible — and the depth of the problems urgently requires — pragmatic, non-divisive approaches which reflect the complexities of sustainable development that go beyond economic rates of growth. Goals should be forward-looking, but achievable. The United States believes that Agenda 21 and the Commission on Sustainable Development, supplemented by the outcomes of recent or upcoming global conferences on human rights, population, social development and women, should form the core of the United Nations development agenda. We also see some need for strengthening cooperation between United Nations agencies and the World Bank and other Bretton Woods institutions, without encroaching on the fundamental responsibilities of either. And we continue to believe deeply that open economic and political systems are essential prerequisites to broadened opportunity and sustained growth.

In his report the Secretary-General correctly cites another priority, which is to strengthen the links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development. The United States will continue to work closely with the Secretariat and other States to make progress towards this goal.

Fourthly, the United States urges United Nations Members to continue broadening and deepening the activities of this Organization in support of democracy, human rights and justice. These, too, are interlocking goals and our support for them, both political and financial, is a vital component of preventive diplomacy and development. In that connection, we are impressed with the bold and innovative efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the continuing diligence and dedication of the Centre for Human Rights. We believe the United Nations should take pride in its successful efforts to support transitions to civil peace and democracy in places as diverse as Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa and, we hope, now Mozambique. Finally, we attach profound significance to the work of the war—crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and to the parallel panel we expect to see created for Rwanda.

These efforts, taken together, are testimony to the growth of this institution, not merely as an instrument of Governments, but as a voice for individuals, each of whom, regardless of gender, race or ethnicity, deserves to be free, deserves to have his or her basic dignity respected and deserves security from the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

The fifth issue I will mention today concerns the Middle East. Yesterday, in Jordan, the world witnessed further evidence that past limits of possibility have been exceeded. Even the deepest resentments and insecurities can be overcome by those determined to shape history, not be imprisoned by it. We will have an opportunity in

the Assembly this fall to build on the breakthroughs that have occurred between Israel and Jordan and between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The time has come to dispense entirely with the polemics and divisiveness of the past. In that volatile region peace remains fragile. Our message to terrorists on all sides who would destroy peace must be resolute. This Organization must stand unambiguously on the side of the region's peacemakers. We must do all we can to encourage them and to help their citizens achieve what President Clinton has called the quiet miracle of a normal life.

Sixthly, the United States remains committed to working with all Members to make the United Nations a better, more efficient mechanism for meeting the shared needs of our citizens. We welcome the Secretary-General's plan for reorganizing the ably led Department of Administration and Management in order to achieve

> "a lean, streamlined department with clear lines of responsibility and accountability." *(A/49/1, para. 62)*

We were pleased, as well, with the Assembly's decision to establish a new Office of Internal Oversight Services. This fall, and in the months ahead, we shall seek to ensure that adequate resources are available for that Office and that its operational independence is maintained.

We should bear in mind that in this era of plentiful emergencies and limited resources efficiency has a human face. Funds saved through better management, less duplication and less waste are funds available to care for children, to return refugees to their homes and to help communities to build or rebuild for the future. Member States have a responsibility to work with the Secretary-General and his staff to guarantee that the funds contributed to the United Nations are used wisely and efficiently.

Member States also have an obligation to see that the financial viability of the Organization is maintained. As the Secretary-General points out in this report, this is a political, not just a financial, issue. We believe that a high-level, open-ended working group of the General Assembly should review the elements of and possible solutions to the funding problem.

Finally, we encourage continued work on the issue of Security Council reform. The United States is among the many countries that have stressed the importance of achieving broader participation on the Council without compromising effectiveness. Germany and Japan should be added as permanent members in recognition of their capacity to contribute to international peace, prosperity and security. The addition of three non-permanent seats would broaden participation further, without unduly expanding the Council.

We must also build on current efforts to involve Member States in and inform them about Council activities through increased transparency and stronger working relationships between the Council and countries contributing to United Nations peace-keeping operations. The credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council is a matter of concern to all who wish to see resolute and cooperative action on behalf of international peace and law. We must not allow the procedural complexity of making reforms to impede their accomplishment.

We shall soon begin the second half century of the United Nations. Today, more than ever before, we have the chance to help the Organization to fulfil its promise. We need not confine ourselves to the cramped horizons of past accomplishment. The new United Nations has the potential to move far beyond the old in preserving peace, limiting the transfer of deadly arms, promoting democracy, defending human rights, encouraging sustainable economic growth, preventing disease and increasing respect for law.

Former Secretary-General Hammarskjöld once said that we should

> "stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction and see it as a drawing [we] made ourselves."

As Member States, we must all take responsibility for adapting the structures of the United Nations to the needs of a new era. In so doing, we will serve our taxpayers well, we will serve the United Nations well, and we will help to create a global order in which both our interests and the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter are reflected and preserved.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.